

542  
A N K  
E S S A Y,

U P O N

The following Questions.

*Quest.* What Power has the Magistrate, about Sacred Things?

*Quest.* 2. Do the Faults of Rulers render their Authority void and null?

*Quest.* 3. Are we to be Obedient to Magistrates of a different Religion from our selves? And if so,

*Quest.* 4. What Obedience is to be given unto them?

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By a Well-wisher of the Country's Peace.

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Mat. 22. 21. *Render therefore unto Cesar, the Things which are Cesar's: And unto God, the Things that are God's.*

Rom. 13. 7. *Render therefore to all their Dues: Tribute to whom Tribute is due, Custom to whom Custom, Fear to whom Fear, Honour to whom Honour.*

Rom. 13. 1. *Let every Soul be Subject to the higher Powers: For there is no Power but of God — V. 2. Whosoever therefore resisteth the Power, resisteth the Ordinance of God: And they that resist, shall receive to themselves Damnation.*

Jer. 29. 7. *And seek the Peace of the City, whether I have caused you to be carried away Captive, and pray unto the Lord for it: For in the Peace thereof shall ye have Peace.*

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D R U M F R I E S.

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TO THE

# Christian Reader.

Christian Reader,

**I** Must own it to be frequently but too true, what Sisinius said to Theodosius the younger, That by Disputes about Religion, Contentions only are inflamed; Yet seeing there are some who under a fair pretence of Maintaining the Rights of the Magistrates, Do leave to the Church no Power at all, or that which is but too weak; and others under the Pretence of Christian Liberty, give the Magistrate little or no Power about Sacred Things: That both Church and state may enjoy, each their own Priviledges, is the Design of this Essay. And that I may be no way Irritating, I shall meddle as little as possibly I can, with the Adversaries either upon the right or left Hand; but only lay down, or inquire into the Truth, concerning this Point; from the Scriptures of God and the Writings of learned and pious Authors.

That it may be an Instrument to remove any kind of Differences among God's People, about these Questions, is my earnest Desire and only Design: For Differences amongst them is that which the Wicked use most for their Ruine. Hence Julian the Apostate, hating the Christians, could invent no Way to hurt them, worse than by opening a wide Door for Schisms and Divisions. This he did, that the Discords of the People being increased by Licence, they might not be a Terrour unto him. Augustine tells us, That out of Envy to the Church's Unity, from whence he had fallen, he permitted sacrilegious Dissentions to be free from Censure. And what is said of the Factions of the Primitive Times, amongst the Christians then, should make the Christians now cautious: For, their Differences then, rendered the Christian Religion so ridiculous, that the Heathens acted it upon their Stages. Let not such, then, be amongst us; otherwise we will give Occasion to the Wicked to Blaspheme, and weaken one another's Hands too much. I heartily wish that there were none.

But,

The Epistle to the Reader.

*It say, these Times are very like unto those before the Persecution, in Dioclesian's Time: When, as Eusebius tells us, Lib.*

144. *Through too much Liberty, Ease and Security, the Christian Affairs Degenerated from the natural Rule of Piety, and one pursued another with open Contumelie and Hatred, and impugned themselves by no other than themselves, with the Armour of Spite and sharp Spear of opprobrious Words: so that Bishop was against Bishop, and People against People.*

*O that it were otherwise in this Corner of the Kingdom! And that every one were using their utmost Endeavours to quench these Flames, which are come but to too great a Height amongst God's People: And that it may be so, it is and shall be the earnest Desire, to God, of*

Thine and the Churches

Servant.



# ESSAYS

UPON

## The Magistrat's Power

ABOUT

### Sacred Things.

**T**HIS Subject is truly thornie, and many and great are the Difficulties which attend it; Wherefore I shall Studie to walk in no ways, in my Enquire into it, where the Word of God, and pious and learned Authors walk not before me. And all that I undertake, is to bring together in some Order, those Truths concerning this Subject, which are dispersed in different Parts of the Scriptures, and our orthodox Divines, their Writings: All which I shall perform with the greatest Candor and Distinctness I am Capable of: And were it not out of Pitie to some well-meaning, but misled People in the Corner, I would not venture upon such an Undertaking. But not to detain you with any further Introduction, I come to the first *Question* to be discoursed unto, which is,

*Quest. I. What Power do our Divines give to the Civil Magistrate, about Sacred Things?*

But, before I come to Discourse directly to this Question, I shall premise these few Particulars. And first, From the Examples and extraordinary Facts of some Magistrates under the Old Testament, such as  
*Moses*



*avoid*, it doth not follow, That ordinary Magistrates, more but Magistrates, may do the same. *Secondly*, Whatever the Kings did, under the Old Testament Dispensation, as Magistrates, that same may be done by Magistrates under the New Testament. For which, see Mr. *Knox* in his Appeal from the Sentence of the Papists against him, to the first Oecumenick Council, *Page*, 14. *Thirdly*, That ordinary Magistrates, in extraordinary Cases, may do Things which they may not do in ordinary. *Lastly*, That all the Actions of the Civil Magistrate, about Ecclesiastick Matters, are of their own Nature, and essentially Civil.

Now having premised these Things, I come to discourse directly to the Question: And here I shall shew you 1<sup>st</sup>. What our Divines do not allow to the Civil Magistrate, about *Sacred Things*: And 2<sup>dly</sup>. What they do allow to Him, about them.

For the *first*, Our Divines allow not to the Civil Magistrate, (1) A Power to lay down new Principles of Religion, or to set up a new Model of Worship, distinct from what is commanded in God's Word. (2) They do not allow him to preach the Gospel, or administer the Sacraments. (3) They do not allow him to exercise any part of Church Discipline, either by himself, or by others as his Deputes or Substitutes: And in particular, (4) They do not allow him to Ordain, or Depose Ministers of the Gospel. Nor, (5) to Judge or determine in Controversies of Faith. Nor, (6) to prescribe to Ministers a Method of preaching or administering of the Sacraments. Nor, (7) to make Church Canons, or rescind the Sentences, past by Church Judicatories. Nor, *Lastly*, to Impede or hinder Church Judicatories from meeting when the Necessity of the Church calls for it. In a Word, They allow him no Power formally Ecclesiastical, or what is purely spiritual, or any immediate Power of, or Cognition in Matters simply Ecclesiastical antecedent to the Judgment of the Church. Yet they are for giving all due Respect and Obedience to the the Civil Magistrate; whatever, with Scripture warrant, they can allow him will not be wanting: Such as an external, objectivly Ecclesiastick Power, which is *cumulative* for, but no against the Truth. So that you see our Divines give to the Civil Magistrate nothing of the *Dogmatick*, *Dilatick*, or *Diacritic* Power, wherein the Intrinsic Power of the Church consists: Why then is there such a Pother and Noise about the Intrinsic Power of the Church? Yet, Our Divines give to the Civil Magistrate much Power about Church-Matters; Such as a Defensive, a Ruling, and a Coactive or punishing Power.

*First,*

*First*, They give him a *Defensive Power*. And this they found in that Promise, *Iſa. 49. 23. And Kings ſhall be thy Nurling Fathers, and Queens thy Nurling Mothers.* By this Power, they allow him three Things;

(1.) He is to encourage, countenance and advance, by his Authority and Example, the publick Exercise of all God's Ordinances, in his Dominions, and to defend the Church's Liberties given her by Christ: Such as her pure Doctrine, holy Worship and exact Discipline. The Authors of the one Hundred and eleven Propositions, in *Prop. 4.* say, "That the Civil Magistrate is to give a Place of Habitation to the Church in His Territories. And in *Prop. 41.* "That the orthodox Churches believe, and do willingly acknowledge, that every lawful Magistrate being by God himself constituted the Keeper of both Tables of the Law, may and ought first and chiefly to take care of God's Glory, and (according to his Place, or in his Manner and Way) to preserve Religion when pure, and to restore it when decayed and corrupted; and also to provide a learned and godly Ministry, Schools also, &c. Mr. *Rutherford* in his Treatise of Toleration, says "That the Magistrate, as Nurse-Father of the Church, and Keeper of both Tables of the Law, is not only to procure the Civil, but also the Spiritual good of his Subjects. All which the godly Kings under the Old Testament Dispensation did; as also the godly Emperors under the New. Yea, the Authors of the abovesaid Propositions, in *Prop. 49.* say, "In such external Matters of the Church, altho all Magistrates will not, yet all, yea even Heathen Magistrates, may and ought to aid and help the Church. Whence it is, that by God's Command, Prayers are to be made for them. That the faithful under them may lead a quiet and peaceable Life, in all Godliness and Honesty: as you will find it in the *1. Timothy, 2. Chap. 1 and 2. Verses.* And to conclude all that I am to say upon this first particular Head, in our Confession of Faith, Chap. 23. S. 3. We are told, "That it is the Duty of the Civil Magistrate, to see that the Truth of God be kept pure and intire.

(2.) The Magistrate, by this *Defensive Power*, is to provide the Church with all external Necessaries; such as publick & convenient Places for the performing of God's Worship, and Maintenance for the same. Thus *Cyrus* and *Darius*, altho Heathens, not only gave Liberty to the Jews to restore their Temple; but likewise gave them Necessaries for the Building of the same. And *Constantine*, with the two *Theodasies*, three em-



*An Essay upon the Magistrate's Power*

minent Christian Magistrates, did the like to the Christians, as to the Building of their Churches and maintaining of their Ministers. This also was the Practice of godly *Hezekiah*, as you will see in the 2d Book of the *Chron.* Chap. 31. 3 and 4. Verses. And in the Sixty fifth of the above said Propositions, it is said, That "the Civil Magistrate takes care also for maintaining the Ministers and Schools, and supplyeth the Temporal Necessities of God's Servants.

( 3. ) By this *Defensive Power*, the Civil Magistrate is to remove all outward Impediments lying in the Way of Gods Worship or Management of God's House. Hence in our *Confession of Faith* Chap. 23. §. 3. Speaking of the Civil Magistrate, it is said, "And it is his Duty to take order that Unity and Peace be preserved in the Church, and that all Blasphemies and Heresies be suppressed, all Corruptions and Abuses in Worship and Discipline be corrected and reformed: and that all the Ordinances of God be duly settled, administered, and observed. This was the Practice of the abovesaid Christian Emperors; as also of godly *Jehoiada*, as you will see at full length, in the *second Book of the Chronicles*, Chap. 24. 1, 2, 3, & 4. Verses. And in the *second Book of Discipline*, Chap. 12. It is said, "That it pertains to the Office of the Civil Magistrate, to see that the Church be not invaded or hurt by false Teachers. And in the 41. of the abovesaid propositions, "He is to restrain as well Atheists, Blasphemers, Hereticks and Schismatics, as the Violators of Justice and civil Peace. And in *Prop. 64.* it is said "That he guards and underprops Ecclesiastical Canons by his Civil Authority, he restrains and expells the insolent and untamed Disturbers of the Church.

*Secondly*, Our Divines give to the Civil Magistrate a *Ruling Power* about Church Matters. And by this Power they grant ( 1 ) That he may call Synods, command them to meet, and when met, to enact Church-Canons for regulating the Affairs of the Church. Thus they assert, that the four general Councils were called by the Civil Magistrate: The Council of *Nice* against *Arius*, &c. by *Constantine the Great*; The Council of *Constantinople* against *Macedonius* by *Theodosius the elder*; the Council of *Ephesus* against *Nestorius*, by *Theodosius the younger*; as *Eugenius* has it in his Ecclesiastical History, *Libro 1.* And the Council of *Chalcedon* against *Eutyches*, by *Marcianus*, as the same *Eugenius* has it, *Lib. 2. Cap. 2.* Thus also the Synod of *Dort* was called against *Arminius*, by the States of *Holland*, at the Desire of King *James the Sixth*. Thus also the Assembly which sat at *Glasgow*, *Anno 1638.* and renewed the

National

National Covenant, there, was called by King Charles the first: And the *Westminster* Assembly, which framed our Confession of Faith, Larger and Shorter Catechisms, with our Directory for Worship, and approved of our Solemn League and Covenant, which was framed at *Edinburgh* by the Commissioners of the Assembly, which joyned with the Committee of the Convention of Estates and the Commissioners of both Houses of Parliament, was called by the Parliament of England, Anno 1643. But notwithstanding hereof our Divines assert, that the Civil Magistrate cannot make Church-Canons, or enforce the Obedience of them under the Penalty of Church-Censures. *Rutherford* in his Preface to *Lex Rex*, says, it is not true, that the King hath not Power to appoint Time and Place for General Assemblies. And in the fifty Fifth of the abovesaid Propositions, the Authors say, "That the Magistrate calls together Synods, not as touching those Things which are proper to Synods: But in respect of those Things which are common to Synods with other Meetings and civil publick Assemblies; That is, not as they are Assemblies in the Name of Christ, to treat about Spiritual Things; but as they are publick Assemblies within his Territories: For to the End that publick Conventions may be kept within the Territories of any Person, the Licence of the Lord of the Place ought to be desired: In Synods therefore, a Respect of Order, as well Civil as Ecclesiastick is to be had: And because of this Civil Order, outward Defence, good Accommodation, together with safe Access and Recesse, is Necessary, the Consent and Commandment of him who is appointed to take care of, & defend human Order is to be had. And in Proposition 69. they say, "That by his Command he assembles Synods when there is need of them, protects them, and in a civil Way, proceedeth in them, either by himself; thus I find *Constantine* did at the Council of *Nice*, where he made an excellent Speech to the Council, and *Eusebius Pamphilius* made another to Him, in Name of the Council; both which you will see at full length, in *Eusebius's* Life of *Constantine*: Or, by a Commissioner; Thus I find *Count Marcellinus* representing *Constantine*, at the Conference at *Carthage*, betwixt the Catholics and Donatists: And *Dionysius* representing him at the Synod of *Tyus*: And *Florentius Patricius* representing the Emperor *Martianus*, at the Council of *Chalcedon*: And *Candidian* representing *Theodosius* the younger at the Council of *Ephesus*. Thus also the Marquess of *Hamilton* represented King Charles the first, Anno 1638. and the Earl of *Tra-*  
*braganza* Anno 1639. In all which, our Divines say, his Power is not Spiritual, but Civil.



And in Prop. 50. The Authors say, "That the Magistrate ought by  
" his Authority and Power, both to establish the Rights and Liberties  
" of Synods, assembling together at Times appointed by known and  
" received Laws, and to indict and gather together Synods occasionally,  
" as often as the Necessity of the Church shall require the same. Not  
" that all or any Power to consult or determine of Ecclesiastick or Spi-  
" ritual Matters, doth follow, or spring from the Magistrate, as Head of  
" the Church, under Christ; But *Because in these Things pertaining to the*  
*outward Man, the Church needeth the Magistrate's Aid and Support.* And  
" in some Papers of the Commissioners of Scotland given in to the Par-  
" liament, concerning Propositions of Peace, Page 212. It is said, "gly.  
" Concerning the Meeting of the National Assemblies, We acknow-  
" ledge that the Supream Magistrate, who is Guardian of both Tables,  
" & a Nurser-Father of the Church, may call a National Assembly, when  
" in his Wisdom he shall think it necessary: And the Church is with  
" all Respect and Humility, to obey his Call, for the Good of Religion  
" and the Peace of the Kingdom.

Indeed, if the Magistrate hinder the Church from meeting, when  
her Affairs call for it, or Dissolves them when met, before their neces-  
sary Business be over, then the Church, by her Intrinsic Power, may  
meet, or continue her Meeting, untill the urgent and necessary Affairs  
of the Church be done: But all the Prudence imaginable, and due Re-  
spect to the Civil Magistrate, is to be had: As you will see from the  
Conduct of the Ministers, who continued Meeting in the Assembly at  
*Glasgow, Anno, 1638.* after they were dissolved by the Marques of Ha-  
milton. From all which you may see how little Ground there is for  
some Persons their crying out so much against this Church, because of  
her Actings in this Business: But I desire any to shew me a Period of  
Time wherein the Church has been more tender of this Part of her In-  
trinsic Power, than since the Happy Revolution, notwithstanding of all  
the Out-crys of some Designing Men.

( 2. ) By this Ruling Power which our Divines give to the Civil Ma-  
gistrate, *He is to confirm the Acts of Church Judicatories, and give them*  
*the Force of a Civil Law:* But the Magistrate has a discretive Judg-  
ment, to try if what the Church concludes be right or not. And yet  
this makes him no Judge in Church Matters, but only a Judge of his  
own Actions. Our Divines tell us, That the Magistrate, *qua* Christi-  
an, has the Judgment of Discretion, not to believe or practise any  
Thing ordered by the Church, except it be conform to God's Word, and

quid Magistrate, he has the Judgment of his Vocation, to Discern what concerneth the Spiritual Well and Salvation of his Subjects, and accordingly to address and lend his Sanction. Thus Constantine the Great entered exactly in the Grounds of every Sentence past in the Council of Nicaea, and proposed his Objections; when needful.

(-). By this Ruling Power, which our Divines give unto the Civil Magistrate, he is to take Inspection of Church Judicatories, and see that all Things be rightly managed by them. He being Keeper of both Tables of the Law. And if any Point of Justice be concluded by them, altho he may not rescind for Acts, as was said above, yet he may command them to resume the Matter, take it to their own Thoughts, and propose Objections against it, and exhort them to their Duty, from Time to Time, untill the Matter be rightly concluded. Yet is it still the Church which is to rescind her own Acts. Our Divines illustrate this by a Simile. The Civil Magistrate, or Kirk Sessions have much Power about Matters belonging to Husband and Wife, Parents and Children; So as to censure them for their unnatural Carriage one towards another. Yet neither the Magistrate nor Kirk Sessions have marital or husband and wife Power over the Wife, or parentlie Power over the Children. So here, the Magistrate has much Power about the Church, but no Church Power, properly so called; that belongs intirely to the Church Officers.

Thirdly, Our Divines give to the Civil Magistrate's Coactive or punishing Power about Sacred Things. And here they assert 1st. That all the Persons or Goods of Church Men are liable to the Magistrate, in Things Civil. For, the Apostle says, *Let every Soul be Subject to the bigger Power*: where he excepts not the Apostles themselves. 2ly. If Church Officers should committ any kind of Civil Crimes, the Civil Magistrate may punish them civilly. Thus Solomon punished Abiathar. 3ly. If Church Judicatories offer to Judge in Criminal or Civil Things, such as Men's Lives and Estates, the Civil Magistrate may make void and null what they conclude. Thus the Princes did. in Jeremiah's Case, when condemned to die by the Clergy, as you will see at full length, in the 26. Chap. of Jeremiah. 4ly. Granting the Matter to be meerly Ecclesiastical, if they abuse their Power, the Magistrate may command them to resume the Matter, and propose his Objections against their Procedure, as above. In the second Book of Discipline, Chap. 10. It is said, "That the Civil Magistrate is to assist and maintain the Discipline of the Kirk, and to punish them civilly, who will not obey the Censures

" of



of the same. And in that same second Book, Chap. 1. It is said  
" That the Civil Power should command the Spiritual to exercise and  
" do their Office, according to the Word of God. And afterwards it is  
" said, " That the Civil Magistrate should command Ministers to observe  
" the Rules commanded in the Word, and to punish the Transgressors.  
" civil Matters. Ministers may, as Embassadors of Christ, exhort Magi-  
" strates to do their Duty; & so Magistrates as Gods Vicegerents, may com-  
" mand Ministers to do their Duty. And yet, neither may Ministers make  
" civil Statutes, nor Magistrates Ecclesiastical Canons.

The Authors of the abovesaid Propositions, in Prop. 34. say, " That  
" the Civil Magistrate is to punish externally, all Idolaters, Blasphem-  
" ers and Sacrilegious Persons, Hereticks and Profaners of holy Things.  
" According to the Nature and Measure of their Sin, he condemneth  
" to Death or Banishment, Forfeiture of Goods, or Imprisonment. And  
" in the Act of the Assembly, 1645. which approves the eight general  
" Heads of Doctrine against the Tenets of *Popery*, *Independence* and  
" *Liberty of Conscience*, contain'd in the One Hundred and eleven Proposi-  
" tions, Head 8. They say, " That the Civil Magistrate may and ought  
" to suppress by corporal or civil Punishment, such as by spreading  
" *Errors*, *Heresies*, or by fomenting *Schisms*, greatly dishonour God, dan-  
" gerously hurt Religion and disturb the Peace of the Kirk.

From all which, you may see how far our Divines differ in their Op-  
" inion upon this Subject, from *Erasmus*, with his principal Abettors, *Ori-*  
" *ginus* and the Authors of the *Rights and Privileges of the Christian Church*,  
" &c. upon the one Hand; and from some, upon the other hand, who will  
" give little or no Power at all to the Civil Magistrate, either in Civil  
" or Ecclesiastick Matters, except he be godly. And this leads me to the  
" next *Question*, which is

*Quest. 2. Will the Faults of Rulers render their Authority void and*  
*null?*

But, before I come to Discourse directly to this *Question*, I shall lay  
" before you the Opinion of *Augustine*, as cited by *Dupin* in his Church  
" History, Vol. 1. Page, 189. concerning these Things which make a  
" Magistrate happy. " Princes, says he, are said to be happy, when they  
" set up Justice, when in the middle of Praises they are not swell'd with  
" Pride, when they use their Power to make Gods Worship flourish,  
" When they Fear, Love and Worship God, when they are slow to punish

nish, and ready to forgive; when they punish only for the Good of the Publick, when they forgive that Men may be corrected, and not that Crimes may be countenanced: when thy temper Severity with Meekness and Clemencie; when they are more temperate in their Pleasure the more Liberty they have to exceed, when they affect to command their Passions more than all the Nations in the World. And he extols *Constantine* and *Theodosius* for all these Vertues. And I wish heartily, That all the Magistrates, from the highest to the lowest in the Kingdom, were thus happy. But alas! it happens but too frequently otherwise; and when it does so, that's the Occasion of this Question. 2<sup>ly</sup>. Before I come to answer this Question directly, I lay this also before you, by way of *Premise*, That when wicked Magistrates command unjust Things, then we should answer with the Apostles, in *Acts* 4. 18, 19. *Whether it be right in the Sight of God to hearken unto you more than unto God, judge ye.* Or, with the three Children, *Dan.* 3. 16, 17, 18. *Shadrach, Mesach, and Abed-nego answered and said to the King, O Nebuchadnezzar, we are not careful to answer thee in this Matter. If it be so, our God whom we serve, is able to deliver us from the burning fiery Furnace, and he will deliver us out of thine Hand, O King. But if not, be it known unto thee, O King, that we will not serve thy gods, nor worship the golden Image which thou hast set up.*

Now, having premised these Things, I answer to the Question, with *Pareus* on the *thirteenth* to the Romans, That private Persons should obey a wicked Prince, or Magistrate commanding nothing contrary to God's Law. I could cite a vast Number of Authors of the same Opinion with *Pareus*; But when I consider what Weight *Mr. Rutherford's* Opinion upon this Subject, will have with many for whom this Paper is principally designed, I shall, for the most Part, confine my self unto him, & give you his Judgment fully upon it. In his *Lex Rex*, Page 64. he says, "That every Act of Injustice doth not unking a Prince before God. And Page 112. "It doth not follow (says he) that *Solomon* falling in Love with strange Women, doth lose his Royal Dignity, either in the Court of Heaven, or before Men: Because the Condition of the Covenant upon which God, by the People, made him King, must be expounded by the Law, *Deut.* 17. Now that cannot bear, That any one Act contrary to the Royal Office, yea, that any one or two Acts of Tyranny, doth denude a Man of the Royal Dignity that God and the People gave him. Otherwise *David* committing two Acts of Tyranny, one in taking  
B "his



his own faithful Subject's Wife from him, and another in killing her Husband, should have denuded him of all his Power; and so the People, after *David's* Adultery and Murder, were not to acknowledge him as King, which is most absurd. And *Page*, 104. he says, "That *Saul* killed the Priests of the Lord and persecuted innocent *David*, all which Acts of Tyranny were contrary to his coronation Oath: And yet, *Page* 105. he adds, " *David* or any other Man is obliged to honour him as King, whom the People maketh King, tho' he were a more tyrannous & bloody Man than *Saul*. And immediatly he subjoyns, " Any Tyrant standeth in *Titulo*, as long as the People and States who made him King, have not recalled their Grant, so as neither *David* nor any single Man, tho' six hundred with him, may unking him; or detract Obedience from him as King. And to illustrat this from it's opposite, he adds, " So many Acts of Disloyalty and Breach of Laws in the Subjects, tho' they be contrair to the Covenant that the States made with the Prince, doth not make them to be no Subjects. And *Page* 265. " Nor do we deny, saith he, that the King abusing his Power, in unjust Acts, remains King, and the Minister of God, whose Person, for his Royal Office, and his Royal Office both, are to be honoured, revered and obeyed. And *Page* 266. he says, " I desire not to be mistaken; If we speak of habitual Excellency, (says he) godly and holy Men, as the Witneses of Christ, in Things lawful, are to obey wicked or infidel Kings and Emperors. And, *Page*, 355. we are to submit to wicked Kings and wicked Parents, because Kings and Parents. And below, he says, we obey them not only because what they command is good and just, But also, by Vertue of the fifth Commandment, because of their Place and Dignity. And *Page* 462. Far be it from me to argue with *Bellarmino*, from *Uzza's* his bodily Leprosie to infer, That any Prince spiritually leprous, is presently to be dethroned: For, nothing can dethrone a King, but such Tyranny as is inconsistent with his Office.

And that this was Mr. *Rutherford's* Opinion till his dying Day, will appear from his Testimony left to the Work of Reformation in *Britain* and *Ireland*, dated *February* last, 1661, not long before his Death. His Words are, " The Scriptures of God warrand us to pray for, and obey in the Lord, Princes and supream Magistrates that are otherwise wicked; and to render all due Obedience to them. And in that same Testimony, when protesting against the Corruptions of the Times, he says, " We are not in this Particular, contending That a Prince

" Prince, who is not a Convert or sound Believer, should fall from his " Royal Dominion. And Mr. *Andrew Melvine*, when King *James* the Sixth was most severe against him, alwise exhorted all his Majesty's Subjects to obey and reverence his Majesty, and most earnestly prayed for the Preservation and Prosperous Estate of his Majesty. So also did many other godly Ministers then. And I must say, if this Device of nullifying the Authority of Rulers, because of their Faults, were put in Execution, it would ruine all Manner of Society. In the Epistle Dedicatory before *Eusebius's* History, its said, " was there not a *Jonathan* in *Saul's* Court, who befriended *David*? An *Obediab* in *Abab's* Court, who entertained the Prophets of the Lord? An *Obed-melech* in *Zedekiach's*, to intreat for *Jeremiah*? Yea, did not the whole Body of the Jewish Nation obey, and own Subjection to their Princes, notwithstanding of their Faults? And was there not a *Dorotheus* and renowned *Gargoneus*, as *Eusebius* calls him, in *Dioclesian's* Court, to take Pity upon, yea to die with the Martyrs? And were there not some godly even in *Nero's* Court, whom *Paul* sends his Salutations unto? And did not the Ministers of this Church betwixt the 38 and 49 Years of God, own King *Charles* the First for their King, notwithstanding ( as it is in the Remonstrances of the Assembly to the King, 1645 ) that he was guilty of the shedding of the Blood of many Thousands of his best Subjects; he permitted the Mass and other Idolatrie both in his own Family and in his Dominions, and authorized, by the Book of Sports, the Prophanation of the Lords Day; and did not punish Scandals, and much Prophanation in and about his Court. And the *Informatory Vindication* says, That Dominion is not founded in Grace. So that I am astonished to see many People now adays, disown our present Magistrates, considering all that has been said above: And I am sure they are all acting contrary to Presbyterian Principles.

And ought we not to consider, That Magistrates have the same Corruptions of Nature with other Men, and far greater Temptations; and these, many Times, to what is contrary to their Inclinations: And that many Times the bitter Invectives, with the scurrilous Expressions and Pamphlets uttered and written against them, enrages them, and makes them do Things which they never design'd: And many Times their Faults are viewed through a magnifying Glass, and made much worse than really they are. But to put a Period to what I am to say on this Question, see what our *Westminster Divines* say in the *Confession of Faith*, Chap. 23 §. 4 It is the Duty of People to obey the



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"lawful Commands of Magistrates, and to be subject to their Authority, for Conscience sake. And the Text they cite for this, is *Rom. 13. & 5th. Wherefore you must needs be Subject, not only for Wrath, but also for Conscience sake.*

I shall only add one Word, by way of Caution; and then come to the next Question: And it is this; When it is said, That the Faults of Rulers do not make void or null their Authority, it is to be understood *Untrill they be laid aside by these having Power and Authority to do so.* And, I hope none, upon the other hand, will count this an absurd Opinion, seeing *Craig* upon *Succession*; the best Author which ever I read for the Loyalist's Principles; with *Grotius* and several others, give many Cases wherein a Magistrate may be laid aside: And all the Pleaders for Doctor *Sacheverel* in his Tryal, owned this in the Case of the Revolution.

Quest. 3. But, *What if the Civil Magistrate be not, yea will not be of our Religion? are we then to give any Obedience or Subjection unto Him?*

To which I answer with the *Westminster Divines*, in the *Confession of Faith*, Chap. 23. §. 4. That "Infidelity or Difference in Religion doth not make void the Magistrat's just and legal Authority, nor free the People from their due Obedience to them. Hence you see that the Principles of our holy Religion do not deny but Infidels and Papists, or others of a different Perswasion of the Christian Religion from us, may be lawful Magistrates in those Places where these false Religions, or false Perswasions of the Christian Religion, are established: And if any Protestants, or of our Perswasion of the Christian Religion, may be sojourning in these Parts, they ought to own their Just and Lawful Authority, and obey their Legal Commands.

Now, this is the Principle of the Church of *Scotland*, and was also her Practice, when our Magistrates were such, (which may we never see again) as you will see from these following Instances. And here, I shall confine my self, for the most part, to Mr. *Knox*, in his *Church-History*, an Author against whom, the People for whom this Question is principally designed, will not object. In his *History of the Reformation*, lib. 1. page, 112. he tells us, That the Arch-Bishop of *St. Andrews* sent Sir *David Hamilton* to the old Earl of *Argyle*, after that he had subscribed the Covenant; Anno, 1557: And in Sir *David's Memorandum*, in the fourth Article thereof, he is to shew my Lord, how

how perillous this is to his Lordship and to his House, and decay thereof, in Case that Authority should be sharp, and should use Rigour, conform both to Civil and Canon, and also to your own Municipal Law of this Realm. To which the Earl answers, not unlike to the Apostle, in the 4th. of the *Acts*, or the three Children in the third of *Daniel*; But very agreeable to the noble and excellent Conduct of his Predecessors, as to Liberty and Property, in *Wallace* and *Bruce* their Days. " If it would please Authority, says he, to put at our House, for confelling of God's Word, or Maintenance of his Law, God is Mighty enough in his own Cause, he should be rather obeyed than Man: " And he adds, I will serve my Prince with Body, Heart, Goods, Strength and all that is in my Power, &c. And what his Prince was at this Time, is very well known.

And in Page 140. of that same History, there is a Letter subscribed by the Faithful Congregation of Christ Jesus in Scotland, directed to the Queen Regent thus; *All humble Obedience in Duty premised*. In the Beginning of which Letter, they tell That they had jeopardied their Lives, and with willing Hearts had served the Authority of Scotland, and her Majesty then Regent. And afterwards, in that same Letter, they own the King and Queen, for their Master and Mistress, tho both of a different Religion from them: For, they charge the Queen Regent, that she invade them not with any Violence till they receive Answer from their Mistress and her Husband. And then they concluded, *And thus we commit your Majesty to the Omnipotent, &c.* And in another Letter, page. 156. directed to the Queen Regent, they say, " We take God to witness of the good Zeal and Love we have towards you, to serve you with true Hearts and all that we have, as well Lands as Goods, desiring no other Thing for our Service but the Liberty of our Conscience, to serve our Lord God, &c. And in a third Letter, page, 161. directed to the Queen Regent; dated at *Edinburgh*, July, 22. 1559. They being accused of usurping her Majesties Authority and Invading her Person, answer; *As to the Obedience of our Sovereign's Authority, in all Civil and Political Matters, we are and shall be as Obedient as any other of your Majesty's Subjects*. And in page, 184. where the Queen Regent complains of the Preachers, to the Nobility, That they spake irreverently of Princes in General, and of her in particular: To which the Nobility answer, " We cannot but witness what Course and Order of Doctrine they have kept in that Point: In publick Prayers they recommend to God, all Princes in general, and the Magistrates " of



“ of this our Native Realm in particular. In open Audience, They  
“ declare the Authority of Princes and Magistrates to be of God, and  
“ therefore they affirm, that they ought to be honoured, feared and o-  
“ beyed, even for Conscience sake : Providing they command or re-  
“ quire nothing expressely repugning to God's Commandment and plain  
“ Will, revealed in his holy Word. And *page 197.* Mr. *Knox*, in his  
Answer to the Queen Regent, in the Middle of his Letter, tells her,  
“ My Tongue did both perswade and obtain, that your Authority and  
“ Regiment should be obeyed in all Things lawful, *till you declared*  
*your self an open Enemy to this Common-wealth.* And in the second Ad-  
monition to the Queen Regent, *page, 200.* They conclude thus, “ We  
“ pray Almighty God to take your Majesty into his eternal Tuition.  
And *page, 202.* When *John Knox* his Opinion was asked, about the  
Deposition of the Queen Regent, and after his Approving of what his  
Brother, Mr. *Willock* had said, added, “ The Iniquity of the Queen  
“ Regent ought not to withdraw either our Hearts, or the Hearts of  
“ other Subjects from the Obedience due to our Sovereigns : Who were  
both of a different Religion from the Church of *Scotland* at that Time.  
And *page, 315.* *John Knox*, in his first Reasoning with the Queen, says,  
“ I think, and am perswaded that your Majesty hath had, and present-  
“ ly has as unfeigned Obedience of such as profess Christ Jesus, with-  
“ in this Realm, as ever your Father or Progenitors had of those who  
“ were called Bishops. Yea, so far were our Reformers and first Cove-  
nanters, for giving Obedience to Magistrates in just and lawfull Things,  
notwithstanding of the Difference of Religion, That *St. James Sandi-*  
*lands* Lord of *Saint John*, as *Calderwood* tells us in his Church-Hist-  
ory, *page, 24.* was directed by them to *France*, to Queen *Mary*, to get  
the Ratification of the *Confession of Faith.* From all which you may  
see what the Opinion of our first Reformers was, concerning this  
Question.

But notwithstanding of all that is said, there may be some who will  
not own a Prince or Magistrate who is Episcopal in his Judgment ;  
and therefore, before I advance any more Arguments, I shall remove  
this Objection. For my part, I wish heartily that all our Magistrates,  
from the Highest unto the Lowest in the Kingdom, were Presbyterian  
in their Judgment : But seeing we are not to expect this, and this is  
the greatest Objection of some People in the Corner, against the pre-  
sent Establishment, I shall discourse as plainly upon it as I can: But  
before I come to discourse directly unto it, I shall lay down this one  
Thing

Thing by way of premise, *Viz.* That there is a vast Difference between the owning Obedience and Subjection to a Prince of a different Religion, or different Perswasion of the Christian Religion, from our selves, and our owning and approving of his Religion, &c. As you may see from what has been said above, and you will yet further see from what is to be said below: And if this were but impartially taken notice of, I am convinced there would not be such Difference among God's People, at this Time.

And therefore, in Answer to this Objection, I would have you in the first Place, seriously to reflect upon what has been just now said concerning our first Reformers and Covenanters, and consider who were the Magistrates then, and what was their Religion, and what was their Conduct towards them; and I am convinced, if you do this impartially, your Doubt about this will soon vanish. Secondly, I would also have you again, seriously to reflect upon what is said by our *Westminster Divines*, in our *Confession of Faith*, Chap. 23. §. 4. That, "Infidelity or Difference in Religion does not make void the Magistrat's Just and Legal Authority. Can any thing be more plain than this, spoken by our greatest and strictest Divines that ever were in *Brittain*. Thirdly, I desire any Man to shew me, from the Word of God, Confession of Faith or Covenants; any Clause or Sentence which favours this their Opinion? I am convinced they cannot; and I believe, our *Westminster Divines* were not of their Opinion: For, when they approved the Solemn League and Covenant, notwithstanding that the King was then Episcopal in his Judgment, and bound to maintain Prelacy by his Coronation Oath, yea, was in Arms at that very Time to restore abjured Prelacy and to overturn the Parliament; yet they were so Loyal, that it's one of the Clauses in their Solemn League and Covenant, *viz.* to defend the Kings Person and Authority; and that *tho' he had never taken the National Covenant*. And when King *James* the Sixth turned from Presbytery, to which he had sworn in the National Covenant, and joyn'd in with the Church of *England* which he had sworn against, Did not all the worthy Ministers then, notwithstanding hereof, own him to be their King? And if these Objectors can paraleel those worthy Ministers, such as Mr. *Andrew* and Mr. *James Melvins*, and Mr. *Alexander Henderson*, Mr. *Baillie*, Mr. *Gillespie*, Mr. *Rutherford* and Mr. *Durham*, either for Piety or Learning, I am very far mistaken: And I think that these two Instances might intirely remove this Objection.

But,



But I know it will be said, That in the National Covenant, they swore to defend the King's Person and Authority, with their Goods, Geir and Lives; But it was *in the Defence of Christ's holy Evangel and Liberties of the Country, &c.* And in the Solemn League and Covenant they swore to preserve and defend the King's Majesty's Person and Authority; But it was *in the Preservation and Defence of the true Religion and Liberties of the Kingdom.* In both which Covenants, they say, that their Promises were restricted and limited.

Now, *First*, As to the National Covenant, This was the Objection of the Doctors of *Aberdeen* against it, in their Eighth Demand to Mr *Alexander Henderson*, Mr. *David Dickson*, and Mr. *Andrew Cant*, in *Page. 23.* To which these Ministers answered 1. That their Answer to the first Demand may give Satisfaction here, *viz.* "His Majesty's Commissioner, the Marques of *Hamilton* objecting, That the Covenant was suspected to be an unlawful Combination against Authority, was well pleased with our Declaration, which was, That we have solemnly sworn to the uttermost of our Power, with our Means and Lives, to stand to the Defence of the King's Majesty, as God's Vicegerent set over us, for the Maintenance of Religion and Ministration of Justice. 2. They Answer, That the Specification of the Kingdom's Defending the King's Person and Authority, *in defence of the true Religion, Laws and Liberties of the Kingdom*, is warranted by the Confession of Faith, ratified in Parliament; So that if that had been the Sense of it, then the King himself undoubtedly had quarreled it; but he did not. 3. They answer, no Man will with-hold his Subscription from the Covenant, because it doth not, as it intendeth not to express every Duty we owe to the King's Majesty, as if the not naming were a condemning of the Duty. And in their Answer to the Doctor's Reply, they tell them, That these Words are not a *Limitation*, but a *Specification*, that they would Defend his Majesty and his Authority *in the Defence of the true Evangel and Liberties of the Kingdom, &c.* Not importing as if the naming of this one Duty were an excluding of all others: For, say they, "We all by our Alledgiance, by his Majesty's Laws, and by our Obligations acknowledge, That we owe many other Duties to the King, which were very impertinent to Name in this Covenant. And if ye will take Notice to what the General Assembly 1639. says in their Supplication to the Commissioner and secret Council, ye will be satisfied as to this Objection. Their Words are, "We have solemnly Sworn, and do swear not only our mutual Concurrence and Assistance for the Cause of Religion,

“ Religion, and to the utmost of our Power with our Means; But also,  
 “ in every Cause which may concern His Majesty's Honour, shall concur  
 “ with our Friends and Followers, as shall be required.

Secondly, As to that Part of the Objection taken from the Solemn League and Covenant; it being the same upon the Matter, with that taken from the National Covenant, I might sist, after what has been said.

But for the better clearing of the Objection, let us hear what Mr. Crofton, a Man who took the Covenant, administrated it to others, and wrote learnedly in the Defence of it; and the Obligation of that very Article which is objected against, made him and many other godly Ministers, stand up for the King in all his Calamities, tho he had not taken the National Covenant, and continued firm to his Episcopal Principles: I say, let us hear what he says upon this Objection, in his learned Vindication of the Solemn League and Covenant, against the University of Oxford, and others in their Objections against it. And what he says, is but conform to what our famous Reformer, Mr. Knox, with the pious and learned Mr. Rutherford, with our Confession of Faith, and the Authors of the *Informatory Vindication*, say, as you will see above. Now, in page, 105, Mr. Crofton says, “ I do profess my self convinced  
 “ that our Allegiance, and so the Preservation of the King's Person and  
 “ Authority, is an absolute Duty, founded in the Relation, without  
 “ Regard to the Quality, Piety or Impiety of the Person, who is bound  
 “ also to his Duty; but not on the Condition of the Subject's Duty.  
 “ Both King and People owe a reciprocal Duty each to other, and are  
 “ bound to God to perform it: But, the Duty of the one is no limit-  
 “ ing Condition of the other. And then he adds, “ That these Words,  
 “ In the Defence of the true Religion, &c. have been understood to be a  
 “ Predication of the Capacity in which the Kingdom, Parliament and  
 “ People then were, under the Opposition of Malignants, who divided  
 “ the King from the People. And then the meaning of the third Ar-  
 “ ticle, says he, is, “ We being in the Preservation and Defence of the  
 “ true Religion and Liberties of the Kingdoms, shall endeavour to pre-  
 “ serve the King's Majesty's Person and Authority. And then adds,  
 “ I wish therefore, that it may be observed, that the Words fall into  
 “ a plain Parenthesis, and the Sentence is intire without them; and  
 “ they are fixed to the End of the Obligation which relates to the  
 “ Rights and Priviledges of Parliament and Liberties of the Subject,



“ as well as the Preservation of the King; and yet this cannot be limited: And this Sense, says he, is not only consonant to right Reason and true Religion; but also to the Declaration of the Parliament, in their Proceedings, and the Scope of the Covenant. And this very Article closeth with a most solemn Appeal to the World to bear witness of their Loyalty, and that they had no Thoughts to diminish his Majesty's just Power and Greatness.

Others answer unto this Objection, and I think very soundly too, That this Clause in the Solemn League and Covenant is no Limitation, but a Precaution, that none should think that in their engaging to preserve and defend the Priviledges of the Parliament, and Liberties of the Subject, they intended any Hurt to the King's Person, or Diminution of his Authority. All that I shall add further for the Removal of this Objection, is but to mind you of what is said above, *Viz. That Infidelity and Difference in Religion doth not make void the Magistrat's just and legal Authority*: And consequently, these Words in debate, can never be a *Limitation*; but must be a *Specification*: Otherwise I desire any Man to reconcile that Clause in the *Solemn League & Covenant*, taking it in their Sense, with this Section in the *Confession of Faith*. 2ly. That Clause in the Solemn League and Covenant, was in particular concerning King *Charles the First*, who was Episcopal in his Judgment, and would never take the National Covenant, and at that individual Time was in Arms to establish *Prelacie* (which he was sworn to by his Coronation Oath) and to overturn the Parliament. So that, that Clause could never be a Limitation; but must be a Specification: Otherwise, let any reconcile the Practice of the famous Approvers and Vindicators of these Covenants, and that both in *England* and *Scotland*, in their Conduct towards King *Charles the First*, from the 38. to the 49. Year of God, with these Clauses of the Covenant, taking them in the Objector's Sense.

Again, was there not a righteous *Abraham* in *Caldea*, a just *Lot* in *Sodom*, a *Joseph* and *Jacob* in *Egypt*, a *Mordecai*, *Daniel* and the three Children, all in the Courts of Princes or Magistrates who were of a different Religion from themselves? And in the New Testament you will find our Saviour, with *Joseph* and *Mary*, the Centurion and the Apostles, *Peter* and *Paul*, with the Christians in *Nero's House*, all owning Obedience and Subjection to Magistrates of a different Religion from themselves. And if that Doctrine hold, *That we are not to*  
give

give Obedience to such, why then did our Lord, with his Apostles, give so many Orders to the Christians, about their Obedience and Submission to the Civil Magistrates then, who were all Heathens? For which you may consult *Rom. 13. 1. 2. 1 Tim. 2. 1, 2. Titus 3. 1.* and *1. Pet. 2. 13, 14.* Unto all which Places, I am to discourse fully afterwards.

Lastly, If this Doctrine hold, That Obedience is not to be given to the just and lawful Commands of Magistrates of a different Religion from our selves, How then came the Christians in the primitive Times, to be subject unto such? As will appear from these following Instances. But before I come unto them, allow me to give one Instance from among the Jews, out of *Josephus, contra Apion. Libro 2do.* where he tells us, That the Jews were in League with the Athenians and Romans: And maintains, That there was a Pillar standing in his Time, in *Alexandria*, containing the Priviledges granted unto the Jews, by *Julius Cesar.* Now for Instances among the Christians, in the Primitive Times;

*Plinius Secundus*, a noble President in *Trajan's* Time, being much moved with the Numbers of Martyrs, wrote to the Emperor, that nothing in them was found impious; as *Eusebins* has it, in his Church History, *Lib. 3. Pag. 58.* And certainly, if the Christians then had been disobedient to the Emperor's Laws, the Proconsul would never have wrote so favourably concerning them. And,

*Tertullian* in his Apology, as *Dupin* tells us in his Ecclesiastical History, *Vol. 1. Page 56.* says, "We Christians pray for the Emperors, that God would grant them a long Life, a peaceable Reign, faithful Counsel, valiant Souldiers, and an obedient People. And again, he tells us, That the Christians are not Enemies to the Emperor: Knowing that their God has established him, they love, honour and respect him, heartily wishing his Preservation. And,

*Serenus Granianus*, a noble President, signified to the Emperor *Adrian*, in behalf of the Christians, that it was very injurious, That for no Crime, but only at the Out-cry of the People, they should be brought and persecuted, as *Eusebins* has it, in his Church History, *Lib. 4. Pag. 60.* Upon which *Adrian* writes to *Minutius Fundanus* Proconsul of *Asia*, in favours of the Christians. And the same *Eusebinus*, *Lib. 5. Cap. 4. Pag. 81.* of his History, tells us, That *Marcus Aurelius*, a Heathen Emperor, when warring against the Germans, with his



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whole Army, was ready to perish for Thirst, yet, at the earnest Prayers of his Christian Souldiers, who belonged to the Legion called *Melitina*, Rain was granted him from Heaven. And,

The *Theban* Legion, which consisted of 6666 Christians, as *Usher*, upon his *Power of Princes*, tells us, served under the Emperor *Maximinian*. For which also you may consult *Hornius* in his Church History.

And, as *Socrates* tells us, in his Church History, *Lib. 3. Pag. 304* and 316. When *Julian* the Apostate discharged all Christians to bear Rule in the Common-wealth (before which Time, a great many did) many Christians threw down their Sword-girdles, and said, they would suffer any Kind of Torment rather than deny their Saviour *Jesus Christ*. Of which Number was *Jovianus*, *Valentinianus* and *Valens*; the two former being *Tribunes*, and the last being one of *Julian's* own Guard, and all afterwards Emperors. It's true, *Julian*, upon second Thoughts, finding them all necessary for the Service of the Common-wealth, deposed none of them from their Dignity, and all the three continued in his Service, notwithstanding that he turned Apostate. Just like the godly, in King *James* the sixth and King *Charles* the second their Reigns, who continued to own them for their Kings, notwithstanding that they had fallen from Presbytery, which they had sworn unto, and joyned in Communion with the Church of *England*, or *Prelacie*, which they had sworn against.

From all which you may see what is our Duty, when our Circumstances are such; But blessed be God that our Magistrates are now Protestants, and that Papists are excluded from such Offices, by the Laws of the Land. And may we never see a Papist on the Throne again, who is obliged by his Principles (1) Not to keep Faith to Hereticks, and this *John Huss* and *Jerome* of *Prague* found to their sad Experience, at the Council of *Constance*, as others have found since. (2.) To extirpate the Protestant Religion and to propagate Popery, *viis & modis*. This has been seen in *Spain*, *France*, *Piedmont* and the *Palatinate* of late: Yea before the happy *Revolution*, there were but too sad Symtoms of this appearing in thir Islands: But, God be thanked for his putting a Stop thereto, by it. From what has been said, I hope, some now may find that it's their Duty to be subject unto Magistrates of a different Perswasion of the Christian Religion, from them-

selves

selves, tho they did not see it before: And therefore I think it is Time now to come to the last Question to be Discoursed to, which is,

Quest. 4. *What Obedience do we owe to Princes or Magistrats of a different Religion from our selves? Or of a different Perswasion of the Christian Religion from us?*

I answer in the first Place, That *we owe them Subjection*; we may be Subjects under them: For the Apostle says, *Rom. 13. 1. Let every Soul be Subject to the higher Powers.* The Apostle having spoken, in several Places before, concerning Christian Liberty, and lest what he had said should be misconstrued, as if he meant, That Christians were free from Subjection to the Powers in being, he gives them this Advice, *Let every Soul be Subject to the higher Powers*: And here he is writing to the Christian Romans, who lived under the Heathen Emperor. And Mr. Pool observes, That the Apostle says not, *be Obedient*; but *be Subject*: Which is a general Word, comprehending all manner of Duties and Services. See also *Titus, 3. 1. Put them in mind to be Subject to Principalities and Powers, to obey Magistrates, &c.* All the Supream secular Powers at this Time were Heathens, and no Friends to the Christian Religion, which might be the Christian's Temptation then to rebell against them, And to prevent which, the Apostle says, *Put them in mind to be Subject to Principalities and Powers, to obey Magistrates.* See also the first Epistle of Peter, 2. Chap. 13 & 14. Verses. *Submit your selves to every Ordinance of Man, for the Lord's sake, whether it be to the King as Supream, or unto Governours, as unto them that are sent by him.* The Apostle here is writing to the Jewish Christians under Caesar's Jurisdiction, to submit to him, or his Proconsuls, for the Lord's sake.] that is, Because he commands it, and to err in this Particular, was to offend God, and bring Condemnation upon themselves, *Rom. 13. 2.* Mr. Rutherford in his Testimony left to the Work of Reformation, as cited above, tells us, "That the Scriptures of God warrand us to pray for and obey, "in the Lord, Princes and supream Magistrates that are otherwise wicked, and to render all due Obedience to them: And at this Time, King Charles the second had turned from Presbytery, to which he had sworn, and joined in Communion with the Church of England. And all these worthy Ministers betwixt the 38 and 49 Years of God owned King Charles the first, still for their King, notwithstanding that



he was Episcopall in his Judgment. And what our Reformers did, after the Reformation, as to this Point, you may see from what is cited above out of Mr. Knox his History.

Secondly, *We are to pray for them.* 1 Tim. 2. 1, 2. *I exhort therefore, that first of all, Supplications, Prayers, Intercessions, and giving of Thanks be made for all Men: For Kings, and all that are in Authority; that we may lead a quiet and peaceable Life in all Godliness and Honesty. For this is good and acceptable in the sight of God our Saviour.* The Kings of the Earth at this Time were all Heathens; yet Prayers were to be made in the Christian Congregations for them. Prayers for Magistrates were to be directed according to their Circumstances: If Idolaters and Persecuters, they were to pray for their Conversion. However, says Mr. Pool, Tho' they were Heathens, they were to pray for their Life, Health, and for God's guiding of them in the Administration of the Government; and for Success to their lawful Counsels and Undertakings. Thus the Jews, under the Old Testament, were to pray for the Peace of these Places to which they were to be carried captive, Jer. 29. 7. And Tertullian in his *Apologie*, as above, tells us, That the Christians prayed for the Emperors, that God would grant them a long Life, a peaceable Reign, a faithful Council, valiant Souldiers, and an obedient People. Godly Mr. Rutherford kept private Fasts for King Charles the first. And in his above-said Testimony to the Work of Reformation, he tells us, That the Scriptures of God warrands us to pray for, and obey in the Lord, Princes and Magistrates that are otherwise wicked, &c. Josephus tells us, That Alexander the Great, Prolimeus, Philadelphus, Augustus, Tiberius, and Vitellius, all heathen Emperors, sent Victims to be sacrificed at the Temple of Jerusalem. And in the first Book of Maccabees, Chap. 7. Verse 33. and Chap. 12. Verse 11. (I cite not this as Canonick Scripture, but as a Piece of very good History) it's said, That the Jews constantly offered Sacrifices and Prayers for the Kings and Emperors under whom they lived. And Mr. Jenkins, in his *Verity of the Christian Religion*, says, That the Omission of this, contrary to their known and approved Custom in all former Times, hastened their final Destruction by the Romans.

And Pareus, in his Commentary upon the first Epistle to the Corinthians, on Chap. 11. Verse 21. tells us out of *Justine*, That the ancient Christians, in their Meetings upon the Sabbath, began with Prayers for

for the Church, for the Emperors, and their Ministers of State, &c. And who were the Magistrates then, is but too notour. In *Genesis* 47. 7. Old *Jacob* blesses *Pharaoh*. And in *Dan*. 6. 21. *Daniel* says to the King, *O King live for ever*, where he prays for his Prosperity, tho' he had been suffering under him. And here, once for all, they are not to be understood, as if they prayed for Success to them in persecuting of God's People, &c. But for the Preservation of their Life, Health, &c. in so far as it may be for God's Glory and the Good of their Subjects; as you will see above, in my Citations out of *Mr. Pool* and *Tertullian*.

But to conclude all that I have to say upon this Head, In our Confession of Faith, *Chap.* 23. §. 4. It is said, That it is the Duty of People to pray for their Magistrates, and honour their Persons, for Conscience sake. And the Place of Scripture they adduce for Probation hereof is, *1 Tim.* 2. 1, 2. concerning which, you may see above. But, before I leave this Head, I cannot but desire you to look back to two Citations above, out of *Mr. Knox* his History, where, by Prayer, our Reformers recommended the *Queen Regent* to God's Protection: And what kind of Magistrate she was, is very well known. Consult also the History above, cited out of *Eusebius*, in *Marcus Aurelius* his Time: As also that of *Mr. Andrew Melvine*, as cited above.

Thirdly, *We are to pay Tribute unto them.* *Luke* 2. 1, 2, 3, 4. And it came to pass in those Days, that there went out a Decree from Cesar that all the World should be taxed, (And this Taxing was first made when *Cyrenius* was Governour of Syria) and all went to be taxed, every one into his own City. *Joseph* also went up from Galilee, out of the City of Nazareth, into Judea, unto the City of David, which is called Bethlehem (because he was of the House and Lineage of David) to be taxed with *Mary* his espoused Wife, being great with Child. It was the Custom of the Romans then, to take a particular Account of the Numbers and Qualities of all Persons, inhabiting Countries under their Jurisdiction, in Order to their laying Taxes upon them.

And at Christ's Birth there was a Decree for such a *Census* to defray the Charges of the Empire, says *Mr. Pool*, and the Account of the Jews being to be taken up, according to their Tribes, and these belonging to such a Tribe being to meet in the chief City thereof, *Joseph* (who either for Fear of *Herod*, or Inconvenience of his Trade, had removed to Galilee) now returns at the Command of the Civil Magistrate, who



who was a Heathen, to be inrolled in the Court-books belonging to the Empire.

And in the *seventeenth*, Chapter of *Mathew*. from the Twenty fourth Verse, and downward, when the Receivers of Tribute asked *Peter* if his Master payed it, he answered, Yes; and accordingly Christ ordered him to pay it. And in *Matth.* 22. 21, 22. When they shewed Christ the Tribute Money, He ordered to render to *Cesar* the Things which were *Cesar's*, and to *God* the Things which were *God's*. And in *Rom.* 13. 6. The Apostle says, For this Cause also, *Viz.* for Conscience sake, pay you Tribute. And Verse 7. he says, Render therefore to all their Dues: Tribute to whom Tribute is due, Custom to whom Custom, &c. And that the Jews, during their Captivity, payed it to the Heathen Emperors, is clear from *Ezra*, 4. 13. Where the Jew's Enemies say, Be it known unto the King, that if this City be builded and the Walls set up again, then will they not pay Toll, Tribute and Custom, and so thou shalt damage the Revenue of the King. And in *Neh.* 5. 4. 'Tis said, That the Jews borrowed Money for the King's Tribute.

Indeed *Artaxerxes*, in the seventh Chapter of *Ezra*, frees the Ministers of the Temple from paying this Tribute: For, he says, We certify you, touching any of the Priests and Levites, Singers, Porters, Nethenims, or Ministers of the House of God, it shall not be lawful to impose Toll, Tribute or Custom upon them: Yet all the rest of the Jews payed it. And *Jenkins* in his Treatise of the Verity of the Christian Religion, Vol. 1. Page 84. tells us, That *Alexander* the Great remitted to the Jews the Tribute of every seventh Year, in which, by their Law, they were obliged not to sow their Ground: And this afterwards was likewise remitted to them by the *Romans*; but all the rest of the Years, they payed Tribute punctually.

And for the first three hundred Years after Christ, the primitive Christians payed it. And our *Westminster-Divines*, in the Confession of Faith, Chap. 23. §. 4. assert, That it's the Duty of People to pay Tribute and other Dues to the civil Magistrate, &c. and that for Conscience sake: And the Place of Scripture they adduce for Probation hereof, is *Rom.* 13. 6, 7. and the Magistrates at that Time were all Heathens. So that the pious and learned Ministers of this Church, betwixt the 38 and 49 Years of God, owned this also to be their Duty.

Indeed, in the Days of *Augustus Cesar*, one *Judas Galileus*, when *Cyrenius* was President in *Judea*, and under the same Emperor, one *Simon Ga-*  
*lileus*

*about Sacred Things.*

but, when *Copinius* was President, they exhorted the Jews to a lawless and carnal Liberty, affirming, That Taxes and Tributes were nothing else but *Slavish Servitude*. And of the same Mind was *Galileus* in the Time of *Pilate*, when *Augustus* Was Emperor: But *Judas* was hanged with his Complices, *Simon* came to nought; and *Pilate* rewarded them under him, as Rebels deserved. For all which you may consult *Josephus*, in his *Antiquities*, Lib. 2. Cap. 5. & 7. And the *Gaulonites* taught the same Error with the *Gallileans*: But *Usher*, in his *Power of Princes*, tells us, That the Jews, in end, their not paying of Tribute, helped to bring on the Destruction of *Jerusalem*.

Fourthly, *We are to seek their Peace.* Jer. 29. 7. *And seek the Peace of the City where I have caused you to be carried away Captives, and pray unto the Lord for it: For, in the Peace thereof you shall have Peace.* See also, 1 Tim. 2. 1, 2. Where the Christians are exhorted to pray for Kings and all that are in Authority, (all which at that Time were Heathens) and the End for which they were to put up such Prayers, was that they might lead a quiet and peaceable Life, in all Godliness and Honesty: And I am of the Opinion, That some now a Days, should think more seriously upon this Place of Scripture, with the preceeding, than formerly they have done.

You may see also *Tertullian's* Apology, as above cited, concerning the Christians Conduct towards the Emperor, for Probation of this Point.

And for Conclusion, I think it ought to be taken Notice of, which *Dupins* tells us, in his Church History, concerning the *Donatists*, Viz. "That by their Pride, and Contempt of the Emperor, they brought Persecution upon themselves:

As also, of what is spoken in the Epistle of *Jude*, Verse 8. Where we read of some who *despised Dominions and spoke Evil of Dignities*; But Verse 10. It is said, *That they spake Evil of these Things which they know not.*

And in the Second Epistle of *Peter*, 2 Chapter and 10 Verse, We  
D. read



read of some who despised Government and spoke Evil of Dignities; But the Apostle calls them presumptuous and self-willed. And in Verse 12. he tells us, That they are all Natural brut Beasts, meet to be taken and destroyed: And that they speak evil of these Things they understand not; And that they shall utterly perish in their own Corruption, that is, They shall bring upon themselves the Destruction they have deserved.

And what came upon Munsterus with the Anabaptists in Germanie; as also upon John of Leiden with his Associates, for their Opinions about, and Practices against the Civil Magistrates, is but too Notour. And whoever would see a full Account hereof, they may consult Hornius, in his excellent Church History, from Page 456. where they'll see a tragical Account of the Consequences of such Opinions, just such as the forecited Texts give an Account of: As also, a full Account of the Opposition made against them, by our first Reformers; And in particular of that excellent Person, the Land-grave of Hesse, in his Opposition to Munster, the Ring-leader and Head of that Partie.

From all which, some among us would be exhorted to reflect seriously upon the Principles they have drunk in, about these Things; and consider how far they differ herein, from the Jews, under the Old Testament, from the primitive Christians, from our first Reformers, and from our godly and learned Divines, who lived betwixt the 38 and 49 Years of God; But above all, they would seriously consider how disagreeable their Principles and Practices are unto God's Word: And so they would be exhorted to have a more favourable Opinion of both Church and State than formerly they have had. I must say there are some well-meaning People amongst them; but it is as true, that they are a misled People: And, I am convinced, if they were left to themselves, and not practised upon, by self-designing Men, they would go forth by the Footsteps of the Flock &c. And would soon quit such Principles and Practises.

Now

about Sacred Things.

Now, that GOD may send a healing Spirit  
amongst his People, and take away all  
their Differences, is and shall be the  
next Desire, to God, of

*Thine, and the Churches*

*Servant.*

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*F I N I S.*

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